

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 QUITO 03730 230625Z

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY QUITO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 245

S E C R E T QUITO 3730

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT PASS TO USDEL FOR SECRETARY FLASH

ALSO FOR EAGLEBURGERN ROGERS AND ARA

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) PFOR EC

SUBJ: PROPOSED PRESS GUIDANCE ON CANCELLATION OF SECRETARY'S
VISIT TO ECUADOR

REF: (A) SECTO 13064; (B) QUITO 3727; (C) QUITO 3729

1. WHILE I AM DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED BY THE ECUADOREANS' WITHDRAWAL OF THEIR INVITATION, I URGE THAT WE NOT MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT ALONG THE LINES CONTAINED IN REF. A UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES.

2. SUCH A STATEMENT, WITH ITS STRONG IMPLICIT CRITICISM OF GOE'S BEHAVIOR AND ITS QUESTIONABLE INTERPRETATION OF THE FACTS (WE HAD BEEN WILLING TO NEGOTIATE CONDITIONS; THEY, NOT WE, CALLED OFF THE VISIT), WILL IMMEASURABLY COMPOUND THE DAMAGE THAT HAS BEEN DONE TO OUR RELATIONS BY THE GOE'S ACTIONS. I PERSONALLY WOULD BE PREPARED NEVERTHELESS, TO CONCUR IN SUCH A STATEMENT IF I THOUGHT ANY USEFUL PURPOSE OF OURS WOULD BE SERVED THEREBY. HOWEVER, I THINK U.S. INTERESTS REQUIRE US TO SUPPRESS OUR IRE AT THE ECUADOREANS' UNPLEASANT BEHAVIOR AND STAY OUR HAND.

3. YOU HAVE REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT THAT IN THE CONTEMPORARY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 QUITO 03730 230625Z

PORARY PERIOD, BECAUSE OF THE INCREASINGLY UNACCEPTABLE RISKS
POSED BY THE USE OF FORCE BY THE BIG POWERS AND THE GROWING
INTERDEPENDENCE OF ALL STATES, SMALL NATIONS CAN HAVE AN IN-
FLUENCE FAR BEYOND WHAT WAS POSSIBLE IN EARLIER ERAS. ECUA-
DOR IS AS GOOD AN EXAMPLE OF THAT TRUTH AS ANY:

--ECUADOR IS A MAJOR PROTAGONIST IN THE LAW OF THE SEA NE-
NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE ISSUE OF THE REGULATION OF HIGHLY MIGRA-
TORY SPECIES AND REGIONAL COOPERATION ON THAT PROBLEM AND THUS
IS A KEY TO OUR OBJECTIVE OF PRESERVING THE ACCESS OF OUR
DISTANT WATER TUNA FISHERMEN TO TUNA GROUNDS ALL OVER THE
WORLD. THOSE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WHO FAVOR
ACCOMMODATION TO U.S. AND THE MAJORITY OF NATIONS ON A 200-
MILE ECONOMIC ZONE (QUIETLY ABANDONING THE TERRITORIAL CON-
CEPT) AND WHO ADVOCATE A REGIONAL FISHERIES AGREEMENT WOULD
BE WEAKENED SHOULD WE PERMIT CANCELLATION OF THE VISIT TO
ESCALATE INTO A PUBLIC CONTROVERSY;

--IT ALSO HAPPENS THAT SOME OF THE BEST TUNA FISHING
GROUNDS ARE OFF THE ECUADOR COAST AND, WHETHER WE GET AN LOS
TREATY OR NOT, THE GOE CAN UNILATERALLY MAKE IT SO PAINFUL
FOR OUR FISHERMEN THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO ABANDON THE AREA
OR WE WILL HAVE TO SEND GUNBOATS. WE NEED THEREFORE TO WORK
OUT WITH ECUADOR SOME ARRANGEMENT TO PERMIT CONTINUED ACCESS
TO THESE WATERS. AN EASTERN PACIFIC TUNA AGREEMENT SEEMS THE
BEST SOLUTION AND WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING THE TERMS OF SUCH
AN AGREEMENT WITH ECUADOR--WITH MILDLY ENCOURAGING RESULTS

--TEXACO AND GULF HAVE A \$240 MILLION CONSORTIUM INVESTMENT
IN ECUADOR WHICH ONLY BEGAN TO YIELD A RETURN TO THEM 2-3
YEARS AGO. THERE HAS BEEN A CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE
GOE AND TEXACO-GULF OVER THE DIVISION OF THE PIE AND THERE
HAVE RECENTLY BEEN EFFORTS BY CERTAIN ACTORS HERE TO FORCE
NATIONALIZATION. T-G IN RECENT WEEKS HAS BEEN TRYING TO
EDUCATE THE PRESENT JUNTA AND WHEN IT TALKED TO T-G OFFICIALS
THE DAY BEFORE I LEFT THE U.S., THEY THOUGHT THEY WERE MAK-
ING SOME IMPRESSION.

--ECUADOR HAS BEEN A LEADING PROPONENT, ALONG WITH PERU,
OF THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY, AND HAS
EFFECTIVELY USED THE OAS FORUM TO MOBILIZE LATIN AMERICAN
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 QUITO 03730 230625Z

OPINION AGAINST OUR CONGRESS' PENCHANT FOR RETALIATION BY
LEGISLATION.

4. SO WE DO HAVE A CONSIDERABLE STAKE IN ECUADOR AND IN THE
ECUADOREAN GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDES TOWARD US, WHICH IN TURN
AFFECT ITS WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE WITH US OR OUR CITIZENS.
WE ARE IN THE SEEMINGLY ANOMALOUS (BUT INCREASINGLY COMMON)

POSITION FOR A BIG POWER OF HAVING TO BEND FURTHER THAN THE SMALL STATES IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO PLAY A RESPONSIBLE INTERNATIONAL ROLE.

5. I KNOW THAT THE RIPOSTE TO ALL THE ABOVE IS THAT ECUADOR GOT ITSELF INTO THIS BY ITS UNREASONABLE BEHAVIOR OVER YOUR VISIT. I ALSO APPRECIATE THAT, HAVING BEEN WOUNDED BY THE GOE'S ACT, OUR IMPULSE IS TO STRIKE BACK, TO SHOW THE GOE THAT THERE IS A COST. BUT I ALSO THINK WE NEED TO WEIGH THOSE FEELINGS COLDLY AGAINST WHAT IS BEST FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF U.S. INTERESTS VIS-A-VIS ECUADOR, WHICH I HAVE TRIED TO DO ABOVE. I THINK WE ALSO NEED TO UNDERSTAND THAT THIS PRESENT REGIME WAS SIMPLY SCARED TO DEATH THAT IF IT DID NOT GET YOU TO MAKE CONCILIATORY, EVEN CONCESSIONARY, STATEMENTS ITS SURVIVAL WAS AT HAZARD. (REF B) AND ITS PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT IT NEEDED FROM YOU BY WAY OF STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN CONDITIONED BY YEARS OF WHAT FROM HERE APPEARS TO BE U.S. BULLYING (E.G. THE PELLY AND OTHER AMENDMENTS, THE GSP EXCLUSION, THE THREATS OF IMPORT PROHIBITIONS IN THE TUNA SECTIONS OF OUR 200-MILE FISHING LAW). SO, WHILE THEIR ACTIONS MAY HAVE BEEN UNREASONABLE, THEY ARE UNDERSTANDABLE.

6. FOR THE ABOVE REASONS, WHICH FUNDAMENTALLY HAVE TO DO WITH PROTECTING AND ADVANCING U.S. INTERESTS, I STRONGLY URGE THAT THE PRESS GUIDANCE CONTAINED IN REF A. NOT BE USED. INSTEAD, WE SHOULD, IF ASKED, SIMPLY SAY THAT, WHILE A NUMBER OF POSSIBLE STOPS IN CONNECTION WITH YOUR TRIP TO SANTIAGO WERE CONSIDERED, INCLUDING ECUADOR, IT WAS DECIDED FOR REASONS OF SCHEDULING NOT TO INCLUDE QUITO ON THIS TRIP. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD BY THE FOREIGN MINISTRY THAT IT PLANS NO FURTHER STATEMENTS OTHER THAN THAT REPORTED IN REF. C. BLOOMFIELD

SECRET

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PAGE 04 QUITO 03730 230625Z

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECRETARY.

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